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THE CONFERENCE CLOSES

Monday afternoon, February 6, the Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, which convened in Washington on Saturday, November 12, adjourned *sine die*, after hearing a farewell address of approbation from President Harding.

In this final session of the Conference all of the treaties formulated by the Conference proper were signed except the four-power pact, to which the signatures were attached shortly after it was adopted, in the fourth plenary session, on December 10.

The treaties formulated in the latter part of the Conference and signed in the last plenary session were:

The naval treaty, providing for reduction and limitation and affecting the United States, Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy.

The submarine and poison-gas treaty, to prevent submarine attacks on merchantmen and to prevent absolutely the use of poison gas, and affecting the same powers.

(These two were adopted by the Conference in the fifth plenary session, on February 1.)

The Chinese general treaty, embodying the Root rules and certain general agreements signed by the five powers named above and by China, The Netherlands, Belgium, and Portugal.

A supplement to the general treaty, signed by the same powers, providing a board of reference in China to pass upon allegations of violations of the open door and of the rule against discrimination on the railroads.

The Chinese customs treaty, giving the Chinese a tariff rate of 5 per cent effective, with provision for a commission to report as to further increase, signed by the same powers.

A supplement to the four-power pact, exempting the home land of Japan from the application of the term "insular possessions and insular dominions."

(These were adopted by the Conference in the sixth plenary session, on February 4.)

Announcement was made in the fifth plenary session that agreement had been reached between Japan and China in the dispute over Shantung. Negotiations in this matter were carried on in a separate parley between the delegations of the two nations.

In this plenary session, too, announcement was made of a number of resolutions adopted in the Far Eastern Committee, bearing on China, in addition to those announced and approved in the fourth plenary session. These will be found summarized in a comparison elsewhere of the Conference's agenda and results.

In the same plenary session, Arthur J. Balfour, for the British, announced that the leased area of Wei-Hei-Wei will be restored to China through separate negotiations. This was the only restoration of territory to China except that embraced in the Shantung settlement.

The French offer to restore Kwangchowwan if all other leases were restored was not met, through the refusal of the British to restore Kowloon and the Japanese to restore Manchuria. The French refused a Chinese plea to accept the Shantung settlement and the Wei-Hei-Wei offer as sufficient.

The agreement between the United States and Japan in the Yap dispute did not come formally before the Conference. It will be consummated in a convention between the two powers. Likewise, the agreement reached outside the Conference on the disposition of the old German cables in

the Pacific was not acted on formally by the Conference.

The Conference adjourned amid mutual felicitations, in which the Chinese joined, although some of their advisers expressed disappointment over the results.

COMPARISON OF CONFERENCE PROJECTS AND RESULTS

For the convenience of the reader, the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* presents below in tabulated form a comparison of the agenda of the Conference on the Limitation of Armament and the work done under each item of the agenda.

LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

Agenda	Accomplishments
1. Limitation of naval armament under which shall be discussed: (a) Basis of limitation. (b) Extent. (c) Fulfillment.	1. Adoption of naval treaty to scrap 68 capital ships of the United States, Great Britain, and Japan, including most of those on the building programs of the three nations; to limit capital ship tonnage in the future for those three nations and for France and Italy; to institute a ten-year capital ship naval holiday except a few specified constructions; to limit size and aggregate tonnage of aircraft carriers; to limit size of guns, and to stop increases in fortifications in a large area in the Pacific.
Failure attended the efforts to place limitations upon submarines and other auxiliary craft.	
2. Rules for control of new agencies of warfare.	2. Adoption by five naval powers of treaty to forbid submarine attack upon merchantmen and to forbid absolutely the use of poison gas. The nations not signatory will be asked to assent to this treaty.
Creation of commission to study rules of war in the light of developments in the World War and to report.	
Failure attended the efforts to abolish or limit aircraft in war.	
3. Limitation of land armament.	3. No accomplishment.

PACIFIC AND FAR EASTERN QUESTIONS

Agenda	Accomplishments
1. Questions relating to China: - First. Principles to be applied. - Second. Application. - Subjects: (a) Territorial integrity. (b) Administrative integrity. (c) Open door—equality of commercial and industrial equality.	1. Four rules, known as the Root Rules, were adopted for the guidance of the Conference on Chinese matters. Later they were embodied in the Chinese general treaty, signed by the nine powers in the Conference, with certain other decisions affecting China.
	The Root Rules pledge the powers to respect China's in-

(d) Concessions, monopolies, or preferential economic privileges.

(e) Development of railways, including plans relating to Chinese Eastern Railway.

(f) Preferential railroad rates.

(g) Status of existing commitments.

integrity and the open door in China, and also pledge them to aid in supporting a stable government in China, and not to take selfish advantage of present conditions in that country.

The question whether the application of the rules was limited to future events or was retroactive was never settled. Japan held always that they were retroactive only by mutual consent in each particular instance.

The past encroachments upon China's territorial integrity were remedied only in the Shantung settlement and in the British offer to return Wei-Hei-Wei. Japan refused to restore Manchuria and the British to restore Kowloon, and the French, therefore, refused to restore Kwangchowwan.

A commission was provided to investigate and make recommendations respecting modifications of extraterritoriality in China, under which other powers maintain courts, police, etc., in impairment of administrative integrity in China.

Provision was made for a commission to investigate and make recommendations respecting withdrawal of foreign troops now in China without treaty sanction.

Provision was made to remove foreign post-offices from China not later than January 1, 1923.

Provision was made to restore China's rights in wireless stations set up on her soil by other powers or their nationals.

Provision was made to increase China's customs rate from 3½ per cent effective to 5 per cent effective, and for a commission to investigate and recommend as to further increases. Nothing was done toward lifting customs restrictions upon China entirely. These provisions were embodied in a separate treaty known as the Chinese Customs treaty.

There was a restatement, in more specific and emphatic form, of the open-door policy and agreements against discrimination on railroads in China, designed to protect the open-door principle.

A board of reference to review allegations of violation of the open-door rule was created, but efforts to empower the board to investigate violations of the open door in the past were rejected.

China's plea for cancellation of the treaties, based upon the 21 demands presented to her by Japan in 1915, was refused by Japan, and discussion on the subject closed with putting into the record the Chinese and Japanese arguments and a restatement of the American protest made at the time the demands were submitted.

However, some modification of the demands was accomplished, in that the Shantung agreement disposed of a block; and Japan announced the dropping of Group 5, and also yielded a point as to loans in Manchuria and Mongolia, to the extent that she granted the consortium the right to participate in such loans instead of holding them exclusively for herself.

Failure resulted in the attempts to reorganize control of the Chinese Eastern Railway, and the action in that matter was limited to the resolutions that the road should be more efficiently conducted, and that China should face her responsibility for payments as they fall due to the nationals of other powers holding the road's securities.

Provision was made that all treaties, conventions, exchanges of notes, international understandings, and concessions affecting China shall be filed with the Secretary-General of the Conference, and any new ones shall be notified to all the powers not later than sixty days after being consummated.

2. Siberia.

Japan promised to withdraw them when order prevails and her nationals are safe. Japan also promised to withdraw her troops from Sakhalin when reprisal negotiations with an "orderly" Russian government for the massacre of her people at Nikolaievsk have been completed. She solemnly declared again her purpose not to seize territory. America's protest against the Japanese policy in Siberia, stated in 1920 and thereafter, was expressed again in emphatic terms.

3. Mandated islands (unless questions earlier settled). Electrical communications in the Pacific.

2. Discussion of Japanese troops in Siberia failed to produce immediate withdrawal.

3. The Yap agreement between the United States and Japan disposed of the mandated islands in the Pacific north of the equator, and decision was reached to deal with those south of the equator in direct negotiations between Great Britain, holding the mandate, and the United States.

Discussion of the electrical communications in the Pacific resulted in nothing more than confirmation of a resolution adopted under the Chinese section of the agenda to restore China's rights in wireless stations on her soil.

The adoption of the Four-Power pact between the United States, Great Britain, Japan, and France, and the consequent conditional termination of the Anglo-Japanese pact, was a result of the Conference which was not projected in the formal agenda.

While the Conference was in session the chief delegates of the five principal Allied and Associated Powers in the World War reached an agreement for the disposition of the former German cables in the Pacific.

NAVAL QUESTION

Failure having been registered formally on December 28 in the British fight to abolish submarines, on December 29 the Naval Committee turned its attention to the Root submarine rules, which had been offered after the British accepted defeat. Discussion of the submarine rules evoked from Mr. Root one of the most eloquent speeches of the Conference.

Mr. Balfour accepted the first Root resolution—that restating the old international rule governing submarines, which Germany had shattered—provided the legal experts found it to be an accurate restatement. Admiral de Bon shared Mr. Balfour's views, but carried the reservation as to its legal accuracy to the point of desiring the resolution referred to a committee of jurists. Senator Schanzer had the same thought, and went on to argue a difficulty in separating the first Root rule from the second, which was de-